

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

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NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ATHENS 6551 SENT ACTION SECSTATE AUG 1.

QUOTE: CONFIDENTIAL ATHENS 6551

NODIS

PT PASS THE WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE FOR ACTION

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PEPR, GR, TU, CY, US
SUBJ: FOREIGN RELATIONS: KARAMANLIS' MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT
CARTER ON EMBARGO

1. THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S POLITICAL OFFICE
AMBASSADOR MOLYVIATIS TELEPHONED THIS MORNING TO SAY
KARAMANLIS WOULD LIKE TO SEE ME AT 12:30. THE PRIME
MINISTER OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY ASKING ME TO SEND TO
PRESIDENT CARTER IN THE FASTEST AND MOST SECURE WAY A
PERSONAL MESSAGE WHICH WAS BEING TYPED AT THAT MOMENT.
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(IT IS ALSO BEING TRANSMITTED THROUGH THE GREEK EMBASSY
IN WASHINGTON.) HE SAID THE MESSAGE SHOULD BE CLOSELY
HELD BECAUSE HE DIDN'T WANT IT TO BECOME PART OF THE
PROPAGANDA BATTLE OVER THE EMBARGO OR TO BE SEEN AS
INTERFERENCE IN U.S. INTERNAL AFFAIRS. NEVERTHELESS,
HE BELIEVED IT WAS IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE AT THE HIGHEST
LEVEL WHAT A VULNERABLE POSITION HE WOULD BE IN

DOMESTICALLY IF THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED WITHOUT EXPLICIT ASSURANCES OF CONTINUING U.S. EFFORTS TO HELP FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS FOR THE REGION'S PROBLEMS. THE SENATE BILL CONTAINS SUCH ASSURANCES, BUT KARAMANLIS SAID HE UNDERSTANDS TURKISH COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE MCGOVERN-BYRD AMENDMENT MAY LEAD TO A LESS SATISFACTORY HOUSE BILL. HE RECOGNIZES THAT IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS OFFERED SIMILAR ASSURANCES IN THE PAST, BUT HE ASSERTED THAT IF THEY WERE NOT REITERATED AT THE TIME THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED THE OVERWHELMING REACTION HERE WILL BE THAT WE HAVE IGNORED GREEK INTERESTS AND REPUDIATED KARAMANLIS AND HIS POLICIES.

2. COMMENT: AS WE NOTED IN ATHENS 6333, A RESTATEMENT AT THE TIME THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED OF THE KIND OF ASSURANCES THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY HAVE GIVEN IN THE PAST WOULD TAKE SOME OF THE STING OUT OF THE SITUATION AND HELP KARAMANLIS PROTECT HIMSELF AGAINST CHARGES THAT HE HAS FAILED TO PROTECT GREEK INTERESTS. THE NEW ELEMENTS IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE ARE THAT THESE ASSURANCES SHOULD BE EXPRESSED BY THE CONGRESS AND THAT THE U.S. SHOULD INSURE A MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY.

3. THE TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE FOLLOWS:

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ATHENS, 1 AUGUST 1978

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY ON MANY OCCASIONS TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT ON THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO MIGHT ENTAIL. I PERSIST IN BELIEVING THAT WHILE THE EMBARGO CONSTITUTES A DOMESTIC AFFAIR OF THE UNITED STATES, ITS LIFTING, NEVERTHELESS, WILL NOT ONLY MAKE THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM MORE DIFFICULT, BUT WILL ALSO DANGEROUSLY COMPLICATE GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES IN THE AEGEAN. FOR TURKEY WILL BECOME MORE INTRANSIGENT, ESPECIALLY IF, THROUGH THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, THE PRESENT BALANCE OF THE MILITARY STRENGTH BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WERE TO BE ALTERED TO THE DETRIMENT OF GREECE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WILL CAUSE STRONG BITTERNESS IN THE PUBLIC OPINION OF MY COUNTRY AND WILL ADVERSELY AFFECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE TO MAINTAIN THE EMBARGO IN ORDER TO AVOID A FURTHER WORSENING OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

SHOULD, HOWEVER, IN SPITE OF THE ABOVE, THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO BE DECIDED, IT COULD BE POSSIBLE TO LIMIT THE AFORE-MENTIONED DANGERS, IF CONGRESS WERE TO PROVIDE CERTAIN ASSURANCES FOR THE FUTURE.

THESE ASSURANCES SHOULD, IN MY VIEW, COVER THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

1. ATTAINING A JUST SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM SHALL REMAIN A MAIN CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES. THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES SHALL CONTINUOUSLY REVIEW THE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SUCH A SOLUTION AND SHALL DETERMINE ACCORDINGLY THE

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UNITED STATES POLICY AND THE GRANTING OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY.

2. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY SHALL BE GIVEN SOLELY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES AND SHALL BE DESIGNED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO INSURE THE PRESERVATION OF THE PRESENT BALANCE OF MILITARY STRENGTH BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.
3. THE UNITED STATES SHALL ACTIVELY SUPPORT THE RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES REGARDING THE AEGEAN THROUGH INTERNATIONALLY ESTABLISHED PEACEFUL PROCEDURES, SHALL ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO AVOID PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS AND SHALL STRONGLY AND EFFECTIVELY OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE SUCH DISPUTES THROUGH FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE.

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE ABOVE ASSURANCES HAVE REPEATEDLY BEEN GIVEN TO GREECE FROM THE AMERICAN SIDE. THUS, THESE ASSURANCES ARE PARTLY CONTAINED IN THE LETTER OF THE THEN UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE MR. KISSINGER TO THE THEN FOREIGN MINISTER OF GREECE MR. BITSIOS OF APRIL 10, 1976; IN THE STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES SECRETARY MR. VANCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS ON APRIL 6, 1978; IN THE STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE MR. CHRISTOPHER IN THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE ON MAY 2, 1978 AND WERE MENTIONED DURING THE DISCUSSION I HAD WITH YOU IN THE WHITE HOUSE ON MAY 31, 1978.

MOREOVER, ALL THESE ASSURANCES, AND IN PARTICULAR THE ISSUE OF THE PRESERVATION OF THE PRESENT BALANCE OF MILITARY STRENGTH BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, TO WHICH MY GOVERNMENT ATTACHES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE, ARE COVERED IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE OF JULY 25, 1978, CONCERNING THE

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EMBARGO.

I AM CERTAIN THAT YOU WILL APPRECIATE THESE POSITIONS
AND THAT YOU WILL PREVENT DEVELOPMENTS OR DECISIONS WHICH MAY
PLACE MY COUNTRY BEFORE CRITICAL DILEMMAS.

PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY
HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES,

CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS

END OF TEXT.

MILLS

UNQUOTE VANCE

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NNN

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